128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 585 We may begin by noting some common features in the Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Comparative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies--no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most important, he is the one responsible for the physical development of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
586 831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
[833] of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first intercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct relationship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the frequency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
[785] his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
[515] wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
[753] avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual relations with several men will notify all of them when she menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since otherwise they can become sick.

• 844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.

After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 585 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private affairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaffirmed. 553 881 Naming and initiation are socially important rites of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions [128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 [613] According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver and namereceiver has been mentioned before. 553 862 The ceremony for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

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561 **Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture**

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

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787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

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114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to himself he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an [595]
old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The pros- 844
pective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, espe- 862
cially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry 582
a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the 173
Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not 586
abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights 578
between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

wife, as they roam the forest day after day in quest of fruits and vegetables, or industriously assisting in the preparation of the food at the family hut. Or, if her *old man* should be fond of her, she may be seen accompanying him at times and amusing herself in a childish way.

The Bororó word for man, or men, that is, Bororó men, is *mêdo*, from *meri*, the sun, signifying, son of the sun; while the word for woman or women, is *arêda*, from *ari*, the moon, signifying, daughter of the moon. This indicates the inferiority of the woman to the man in their thoughts. The man is the great light, while the woman is only a weak, inferior reflection of her husband. Nevertheless, the Bororó admire and worship the moon, and on a bright moonlight night a large group of them may be seen sitting quietly outside the great hut mutely adoring the queen of night.

The *arêda* does not appear to have any independent rights of citizenship in the tribe, existing solely in her husband and for his benefit and pleasure. Hence, "woman's suffrage" is not even dreamed of in these primitive societies. The *arêda* is kept in complete subjection to her man through fear of the *bopi*, and of the public brothel in the great hut; for if she displeases him, he has but to say the word and she will be dragged to the brothel and assaulted by all the *mêdo* of the village. Widows, or women whose husbands have abandoned them, become prostitutes, for a time, at least, or until remarried.

The customs of this tribe forbid that their children should be born within the village. Therefore, when the prospective mother begins to feel the pains of maturity, she betakes herself to a secluded spot in the jungle, where she remains until she brings forth. Then she returns home, or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. Like a beast, the primitive woman needs no attendant at this supreme moment of her existence, and is about her daily occupations again without the loss of an hour. It is not uncommon to see Bororó children, especially female children, nursing until they are six or seven years of age; so large, indeed, that they can stand upon the ground and nurse while the mother remains standing. Smaller

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is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy (see Ploss, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Karaiben observed their couvade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and returns only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'men's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only insofar as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

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While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again insofar as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but that suffices. There is no mysterious correspondence

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627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

●844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]